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ABSTRACT

This two week unit has attempted to alleviate two deficiencies normally found in instructional materials: superficial treatment or neglect of developments since World War II; and, the overemphasis on conflict. Topics have been selected for in-depth discussion, and emphasize the Organization of American States, the Alliance for Progress, and the settlement of the El Chamizal Dispute. The goal achieved is better balance between conflict and cooperation in the discussions of United Stated foreign policy specifically, and inter-American relations in general. Content objectives are indicated for each topic. The "Suggested Activities" have attempted to provide opportunities for students to develop critical thinking skills leading to the formulation of generalizations or hypotheses. Teacher-guided discussion of open-ended questions is used. Supplementary activities are suggested for further exploration of the topics. Units are designed to be used independently, and flexibly depending on the classroom situation. A variety of materials are recommended since most of the topics are of a controversial nature. Readings, sources of materials, and transparency masters are provided in the appendix. Related reports are: ED 036 679, SO 000 019, SO 000 020, SO 000 021, SO 000 023. (SBE)

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CONTEMPORARY INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS*

(For Senior High School American History)

SO 000 022

Instructional Unit No. 2 (1968)

LATIN AMERICAN CURRICULUM PROJECT

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CONTEMPORARY INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

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FOREWORD

Examination of current instructional materials on inter-American relations reveals two deficiencies that this unit aims to alleviate: (1) superficial treatment or neglect of the developments since World War II; and (2) overemphasis on conflict. By selecting specific topics for in-depth consideration, an attempt is made to avoid superficiality. By emphasizing the OAS, the Alliance for Progress, and the settlement of the El Chamizal dispute, the unit seeks to achieve a better balance between conflict and cooperation.

Chiefly responsible for the preparation of this unit is Mrs. Catherine Cornbleth, a former teacher at McCallum High School in Austin, Texas and a member of our project staff. In 1967 she attended an NDEA Institute in Latin American History at the University of Texas for American History teachers who needed to learn about Latin America.

Overview

CONTEMPORARY INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS is a two-week unit for a senior high school American history course. Part I provides a general overview of inter-American relations in the 20th century with an emphasis on U.S. foreign policy in Latin America. Part II and Part III focus on the period since 1945 and examine both cooperation (through the OAS and Alliance for Progress) and conflict (using Cuba, Panama, and Dominican Republic, and Mexico as examples).

Only a small fraction of the possible topics and available materials have been included in an effort to make the unit practical for inclusion in an American history course and to select the most important ideas and representative illustrations. A variety of materials is recommended as almost all the topics are controversial. This unit has been designed to allow specific sections to be used independently if desired. Supplementary activities and materials are suggested for further exploration of several topics. Additional sources of information are found in Teaching About Latin America in the Secondary School, An Annotated Guide to Instructional Resources. Austin, Texas: Latin American Curriculum Project, 1967.

Content objectives are indicated for each topic as "Main Ideas." Items listed under "Materials" are provided in the Appendix to the unit or in the separate book of readings. Transparencies have been prepared as masters which can be used with an overhead projector or be duplicated for student use. The "Suggested Activities" attempt to provide opportunities for students to develop such critical thinking skills as identifying main ideas and trends, comparing points of view, making inferences from statistical data, and formulating generalizations or hypotheses. The emphasis is on teacher-guided discussion of open-ended questions. The complexity of inter-American relations defies easy answers. It is expected that not all the suggested activities and materials will be suitable for every group of students and that teachers will find sufficient flexibility to adapt them to their individual situations.

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Map of Canal Zone and Panama
Map of El Chamizal (w/layover)

I. Introduction

A. Why study inter-American relations?

Main Idea

Latin America and the U.S. are important to each other politically, economically, and culturally.

Materials

Map of the Western Hemisphere

Suggested Activities

Ask students for reasons why they should be interested in inter-American relations; or, why Latin America and the U.S. are important to each other; or, how they are mutually dependent.

The list might include the following items:

Geographic and cultural: natural neighbors as Mexico, border and immigration considerations, tourism, cultural exchanges including Hemisfair.

Socio-economic: U.S. private and public investment, trade, Alliance for Progress, Peace Corps.

Politico-military: international obligations as O.A.S., hemispheric defense, U.S. military installations and aid.

Suggested Activities

Show transparency map of western hemisphere to indicate the relative locations of the U.S. and Latin America and to suggest answers to the introductory questions.

Encourage a variety of responses, and list them on the board. Ask students: What support is there for your opinion? Why do you think this is true? Is it possible that contradictory opinions are both true, wholly or partially (i.e., valid for some areas or groups but not for others)?

To guide students toward organizing information in logically related categories, ask if there are relationships between or among the responses they have given. Can they be grouped into categories such as politico-military, socio-economic, or cultural?

Have students note their responses for later reference.

Assign reading, "Conflicting Views of U.S. Policy," before continuing.

Note that there are areas of cooperation and conflict of interests.

A wall-size chart illustrating the economic interdependence of the Americas may be found in: How Does the OAS Face Economic Problems? Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union.

Supplementary Activities

Read and discuss:

Blanksten, G. I., The United States' Role in Latin America. River Forest, Illinois: Laidlaw, 1966. ($0.60)

Chapter 1, "America and the Americas," pp. 2-6, explores the importance of Latin America to the U.S., mutual dependence, and diversity within Latin America.

Chapter 5, "The Colossus of the North," pp. 28-34, reviews inter-American relations. What is the basis for Latin American suspicion and hostility toward the U.S.? How did U.S. policy and Latin American attitudes change in the 1930's? What new problems have complicated inter-American relations in the period since World War II? (Consider the world-wide anti-colonial movement, revolutions of rising expectations, the cold war and communist challenges.)

B. Conflicting Views of U.S. Policy

Main Ideas

Various representative authors disagree regarding the major features of inter-American relations in the 20th century.

Both U.S. citizens and Latin Americans have been critical of U.S. policy, and their criticisms often conflict.

Materials

Reading, "Conflicting Views of U.S. Policy."

Suggested Activities

After reading the excerpts from the writings of several observers of inter-American relations, ask students to identify the main ideas of each.

Compare and contrast the authors' answers to questions such as: 1) What has been the U.S. policy toward Latin America in the 20th century? 2) What are some criticisms of this policy from U.S. and Latin American points of view? 3) What are the problems or challenges for future inter-American relations?

Is there general agreement or disagreement between student responses to the question, "Why are the U.S. and Latin America important to each other?" and the attitudes of the authors of these excerpts? Discuss, suggesting possible reasons for significant disagreement. For example, have the students

Class discussion should note: 1) U.S. policy toward Latin America.

Schneider: From 19th century paternalism to the Good Neighbor policy of the 1930's with cooperation during WW II, to collective security and the OAS established in 1948; now U.S. policy seems inconsistent largely as a result of our concern with communist threats to Latin America and the U.S.

Hanke: From concern with communism in the immediate post-war period to cooperation for socio-economic development and reform (e.g., Inter-American Development Bank, Alliance for Progress) which indicates U.S. desire to encourage prosperous democratic societies; however, the Bay of Pigs and the Dominican Republic interventions have revived long-standing Latin American Yankeephobia.

relied on stereotypes, or have they been influenced by ethnocentric attitudes? Have the authors?

Oliver: U. S. policy has been aiding communism in Latin America. We have been bullying anti-communist forces.

2) Criticisms of U. S. policy:

Schneider: The U. S. has not sufficiently recognized diversity within Latin America, and cultural differences have led to mutual misunderstandings. U. S. dominance of the Western Hemisphere has been resented and feared.

Hanke: Latin Americans feel that the U. S. has neglected Latin America (e. g., inadequate public investment and trade agreements) or, obsessed with fear of communism, the U. S. has intervened unnecessarily in Latin American affairs or approved of and aided dictators. Latin American hostility is also a result of our insensitivity to their history, culture, and desires.

Oliver: The U. S., at least, should encourage and strengthen anti-communist forces while considering the possible necessity of invasion and occupation as a defense against communism.

Tannenbaum: The U. S. should attempt to isolate undemocratic governments and aid democratic ones.

3) Problems or challenges for the future:

Schneider: Cold war tensions will increase the difficulties of inter-American relations.

Suggested Activities

What conclusions can be reached at this point, regarding inter-American relations? Students should be able to draw tentative conclusions on the basis of the information presented in the readings.

Ask students to suggest questions which should be answered in order to understand inter-American relations since World War II. Are questions suggested by the differences of opinion in the excerpts? Students should be encouraged to ask analytical questions, to decide what information they need before they can reach rational conclusions.

Hanke: Latin American dissatisfaction with the rate of development and reform and fear of unwanted involvement in cold war controversies are the major considerations. Will Latin Americans move toward revolution or gradual progress?

Oliver: The major problem is the possibility of Latin America's being taken over by the international communist conspiracy.

Tannenbaum: The major task for the U. S. is to show Latin Americans that we are for democracy.

See also: Wolfe, W., "Images of the U. S. in the Latin American Press." Journalism Quarterly, XLV, 1964, pp. 79-86.

Suggested Activities

For example:

Where, other than Cuba, is there a communist threat to Latin America or the U.S.? What is the form (e.g., an organized party, a guerrilla movement) of the communist threat? How has the U.S. justified unilateral intervention in Cuba and the Dominican Republic? What are the obstacles to socio-economic development and reform? What progress has been made in these areas? How does Latin America fit into the overall framework of U.S. policy?

An excellent source on communism in Latin America is: Poppeno, R. E., "The Appeal of Communism in Latin America," in Hanke, L., Mexico and the Caribbean. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1967, pp. 168-170.

Student should realize that only selected aspects of inter-American relations will be considered in this unit. (For a more comprehensive study, see: Lieuwen, E., U. S. Policy in Latin America. New York: Praeger, 1965.

II. Regional cooperation: the Organization of American States and the Alliance for Progress

Main Ideas

Relative neglect of Latin America in over-all U. S. foreign policy has given way to increasing concern with and efforts to alleviate Latin America's socio-economic development problems as evidenced by establishment of the Alliance for Progress.

The wealth and power of the United States make regional cooperative efforts extremely delicate despite pledges of non-intervention and respect for the sovereignty of the American nations. Far from omnipotent, the U. S. cannot and should not try to direct inter-American affairs.

Although many problems remain unsolved, slowly, progress is being made toward improving inter-American cooperation and reaching Alliance for Progress goals.

The education of the people and the training of competent leaders is essential to Latin America's economic development and efforts to achieve social justice and effective representative governments.

Materials

reading, "Background: Regional Cooperation"
transparency, "Organization of American States," with Teacher's Notes
transparency, "Alliance for Progress," with Teacher's Notes
references, "The OAS and the Alliance for Progress"
supplementary reading, "Education in the U. S. and Latin America"
transparencies on education in Latin America, with Teacher's Notes

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Suggested Activities

Assign background reading before the following activities are planned.

To supplement consideration of pre-1961 U. S. policy, see the letter to President Eisenhower from Chilean students and the response of our Ambassador, noted in the Supplementary Activities at the end of this unit.

Suggested Activities

Ask students to identify the major, general goals of regional cooperative efforts and the specific organizations established for these purposes.

See also: "The Federation of University Students of San Marcos in Lima, Peru, Declares Vice-President Nixon Unwelcome," in Hanke, L South America. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1967, pp. 155-158.

With the aid of the transparencies, discuss the goals and organizational framework of the OAS and Alliance for Progress.

See "Teacher's Notes" for further explanation.

Additional background information and evaluations of the Alliance may be found in the references listed in the Appendix.

The problems of cooperation and development can be illustrated by examination of one of the Alliance for Progress goals, the efforts being made to reach it, and the obstacles which have been encountered. The Alliance calls for the elimination of illiteracy, a primary education for everyone, and an increase in the facilities for secondary, technical, and higher education.

Why is education a major concern of the Alliance for Progress? Why is education important?

See "Teacher's Notes" for further explanation.

Historical background on education in the U. S. and Latin America may be found in the supplementary reading provided in the Appendix.

Additional information on educational conditions and problems in Latin America may be found in the following:

Suggested Activities

Challenges and Achievements of Education in Latin America. Washington, D. C.: Pan American Union, 1964. Cespedes, F. S., "The Contemporary Educational Scene in Latin America," pp. 42-49; Morales-Carrion, A. "The Ten-Year Education Plan Under the Alliance for Progress," pp. 62-66.

Hanke, L., South America. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1967. Silvert, K. "Social Change and the University Student," pp. 158-160; Vera, O. "The Educational Situation and Requirements in Latin America," pp. 163-165.

Peterson, H. F., Latin America. New York: Macmillan, 1966, pp. 74-81.

Tannenbaum, F. Ten Keys to Latin America. New York: Vintage, 1962, pp. 95-111.

With the aid of the transparencies, consider the dimensions of the task of improving educational opportunities in Latin America. On the basis of the information presented, what are Latin America's present educational needs?

The statistical information used in these charts and graphs has been taken from a variety of sources, and figures have been rounded off in order to simplify the presentation. All the statistics should be considered as approximations useful for comparison rather than absolute values.

How does Latin America's rapidly growing population affect her educational needs?

Do Latin American governments have the resources and willingness to meet their people's educational needs?

Consider: funds and administrative skills; opposition from the Church and upper classes; the traditional emphasis on non-technical and non-scientific learning.

Suggested Activities

Are more physical facilities and teachers, assuming both could be provided, a sufficient solution to Latin America's educational needs?

Is literacy enough?

What can the Alliance do? How relevant is the U.S. experience to Latin America's problems? Do we have answers? Do we have any similar problems? Students might be asked to locate educational data for the U.S. or their community.

What remains to be done? How would you do it? With Latin America's vast needs and limited resources, what priorities would you set? Why?

What, in your opinion, is the direction of regional cooperation at this time?

Suggest the complicating factors of lack of motivation, language and cultural differences.

Point out the need for people with technical skills. In the U.S. a high school education is considered to be a necessary minimum.

Between 1962 and 1967, U.S. aided projects under the Alliance for Progress built approximately 17,000 classrooms and trained approximately 142,300 teachers. In addition, there have been numerous conferences and considerable exchange of information, teachers, and students.

III. Conflict of Interests

A. Cuba, Castro, and the U.S.

Main Ideas

Castro's revolution should be viewed against the background of Cuba's past experiences and in the context of a world-wide movement toward greater national consciousness and "revolutions of rising expectations."

Castro's revolution has changed direction since its beginning in 1956; as an aggressive communist nation, Cuba is a threat to the security and stability of the Western Hemisphere.

The U.S. has only partially succeeded in achieving its foreign policy objectives with respect to Castro's Cuba.

Materials

reading, "Background to the Castro Revolution"
transparency or handout, "Stages of the Castro Revolution," with teacher's notes
map of Cuba
reading, "Cuba," from the State Department White Paper
bibliography, "Cuba: References"

Suggested Activities

Assign the first reading, "Background to the Castro Revolution," before these activities are planned.

Ask students to identify the major trends in Cuba's history which are stated or implied in the reading.

Encourage a variety of responses, and list them on the board.

A list of major trends should include: foreign domination, politically and economically; personal rule or dictatorship and revolution; corruption and non-progressive government; extreme social stratification with exploitation of the lower classes.

Ask students to formulate two or three generalizations from their responses, regarding Cuba's history prior to the Castro revolution.

If students disagree, ask them to point out specific passages in the reading to support their position -- or to refer to other sources of information.

For example: Vested interests, both Cuban and foreign, are likely to oppose reform and thus encourage revolutionary movements. Traditions of personal rule (dictatorshop), despite a constitutional framework, and generally conservative government are formidable obstacles to the establishment of a representative government able and willing to undertake liberal reforms. Economic domination (or exploitation) by foreign business interests and a native elite is likely to be a major target of reform or revolutionary movements.

Using the transparency (or ditto handout), "Stages of the Castro Revolution," explain the major events, and ask students to note that both continuity and change characterize revolution.

See "Teacher's notes to accompany transparency" for further explanation.

It may be most effective to prepare student handouts (on which additional information can be noted by the students) and use an identical transparency for reference and clarity.

Discuss aspects of continuity and change noted by the students. Students might be encouraged to organize their ideas, considering political, economic, and social factors of continuity and change.

Continuity may be seen in the continuation of a dictatorial form of government. Both Castro and Batista are dictators although they use their power for different purposes. Political and personal freedoms are still lacking. Castro's revolution, as the Cuban war for independence in the 1890's, was organized abroad, and fighting began in the Sierra Maestra, eventually wearing down the previous government. Economic stagnation also continues as Cuba remains dependent upon sugar, and industrialization efforts have been relatively unsuccessful. Land reform has meant state collective farms resembling the previous estates rather than individual holdings. Foreign domination

Using the handout, "Cuba," ask students to point out the changes in the direction of the Cuban revolution and their implications for U.S. policy. Identify the official U.S. position on Castro's Cuba.

continues with Cuba dependent upon and influenced by the Soviet Union, and to a lesser extent Red China and the U.S. Castro can try to use one against the others in order to act more independently than was possible prior to 1961 when the U.S. exercised the major influence on Cuba's policies. The presence of three interested parties is also a source of conflict among the competing powers. Finally, Cuba's continued dependence on outside aid is evidenced by economic arrangements with the Soviet Union.

Changes within Cuba include the nationalization of foreign and domestic properties, the leveling of social class distinctions, (in part a result of mass emigration), and the improvements in education and medical facilities. Cuba has become a threat to the U.S. and other Latin American nations as the Soviet Union exerts significant influence, and Castro attempts to export revolution.

The Castro revolution began in opposition to (Batista's) tyranny with promises of democracy and socio-economic reform. Since 1959, it has become an aggressive, communist dictatorship attempting to spread its ideology by means of propaganda and guerrilla warfare.

An aggressive Cuba is a threat to the U.S. interests and thus more attention must be paid to Cuba than previously. Increased attention must also go to other Latin American nations, especially those vulnerable to Castro's brand of revolution. At the same time,

Present the following questions to the students, and suggest that they refer to earlier reading and notes in considering their answers.

1. What problems for U.S. foreign policy have been presented by Castro's Cuba?

2. Would these problems exist if Castro had not adopted communism and established ties with other communist nations?

Use the transparency map to indicate Cuba's location in relation to other Latin American nations and the U.S.

Students may be given time to work in class, individually or in groups -- or a combination of individual and group work may be desirable. When the students or groups have developed their answers, the entire class should discuss them.

After students have identified the problems for American foreign policy presented by Castro's Cuba, ask them to consider possible

the U.S. must recognize Latin American attitudes toward Castro and a negative, anti-communist U.S. policy.

The official U.S. position is that Castro's Cuba poses a threat to other Latin American nations and the U.S., and this threat must be isolated or contained. (The 1961 attempt to overthrow Castro was unsuccessful and direct intervention appears to have been abandoned.)

According to George Pendle in his History of Latin America, modern revolutions in Latin America are symptoms of or reactions against a broad movement toward economic independence and social justice. Foreign ownership of public utilities and industrial monopolies have come to be seen as indignities, not contributions to economic advancement. Anti-U.S. sentiment is natural, according to Frank Tannenbaum in Ten Keys to Latin America, and is in large measure jealousy of our wealth and power. For some Latin American intellectuals, turning to communism is a means of defying the U.S. Castro apparently felt it necessary to eliminate everything associated with the U.S. as an expression of Cuban nationalism and a method of consolidating support. (However, he has not been able to completely erase the U.S. presence by his expropriation policies or his collaboration with the Soviet Union and China as shown in the 1962 missile crisis.) If the U.S. had followed a positive policy of supporting democracy, Tannenbaum continues, Castro would not be in his present position; if we had opposed Batista, we would

U.S. responses and their likely consequences (e.g., full-scale intervention, non-recognition and isolation, acceptance and aid). What actions has the U.S. taken? At what costs? With what results?

not be associated with tyranny.

Refer to discussion of changes in the direction of Castro's revolution and the implications for U.S. policy.

The students should realize that any revolution would have been likely to produce problems with respect to recognition and nationalization or expropriation of foreign properties. (Reference might be made to the Mexican Revolution and the "crisis" over American oil properties.)

Reference to the introductory readings and discussion may provide some answers. A brief summary of U.S. actions follows. The U.S. recognized Castro's government in 1959, cancelled economic agreements in 1960, broke diplomatic relations in January, 1961, unsuccessfully sponsored an invasion in April 1961, worked for Cuba's expulsion from the OAS in January, 1962, won the removal of Soviet missiles in October, 1962, but has been unsuccessful in enforcing a diplomatic and economic boycott of Cuba, eliminating Castro's influence in other Latin American nations, or encouraging Castro to moderate his position. Increased aid has been provided to Latin American nations as, for example, through Alliance for Progress in an attempt to promote peaceful change. Fear of communist expansion was a major factor in U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

Suggested Activities

On the basis of our past experience, what policies do you suggest for future U.S. - Cuban and U.S. - Latin American relations?

Ask students to consider the nature of the threat posed by Castro's Cuba. Is it political, military, economic, ideological, or some combination? What policies would best meet these threats? What might be the effects of Castro's disagreements with Moscow and Peking on his "threat potential"?

What general conclusions might be formulated with regard to inter-American relations on the basis of U.S. - Cuban experiences? Ask for specific evidence to support tentative generalizations. Encourage students to challenge each other's conclusions. Emphasize the tentative nature of the proposed generalizations and hypotheses. Note agreed-upon generalizations or hypotheses for further discussion at the end of this unit.

For example: The U.S. is very powerful and can influence events in Latin America, but the U.S. is not omnipotent and cannot direct Latin American internal affairs or foreign policy. (We succeeded in our objectives in the 1962 missile crisis but not in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.)

Anti-American sentiment and nationalism are effectively exploited by Latin American leftists and communists to gain support for their other objectives. (Castro's expropriation of foreign properties both defied U.S. claims and brought industries and land under state control.)

Non-communist dictatorships may successfully gain U.S. aid because of our preoccupation with the Cold War, thus putting the U.S. in the position of opposing reform and indirectly encouraging revolution. (The U.S. aided Batista until March 1958.)

B. El Chamizal: conflict resolved

Main Ideas

Settlement of the Chamizal dispute indicates that meaningful agreements between the U.S. and Latin American nations can be reached, and that further improvements in inter-American relations are possible if the nations involved sincerely desire them.

Materials

map of U.S. - Mexico border, disputed area, and settlement

Suggested Activities

Using the transparency, show the disputed area.

The Rio Grande has been the boundary between Texas and Mexico since 1848 following the Mexican War. In the mid-1800's the river's course shifted southward at El Paso putting 600 acres of formerly Mexican territory in Texas. Mexico claimed the land but the U.S. stated that the Rio Grande was the boundary, regardless of its movement.

A century of "negotiation and recrimination" followed. In 1911, the dispute was submitted to international arbitration, but the U.S. rejected the decision which favored Mexico's claim. Texans continued to build homes and businesses in the area while Mexico cried "Yanqui imperialism."

El Chamizal, near downtown El Paso between El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, is an area of shops, run-down houses, stockyards, and small factories. After his trip to Mexico, President Kennedy decided to settle the long standing dispute. This action may be viewed as part of his general efforts to improve

Why do you suppose the dispute continued? Why did both sides appear unwilling to compromise? Do you agree with the opinion that the Chamizal dispute was "more a question of national pride than real estate"? Why do you suppose agreement was reached in 1963?

inter-American relations.

Using the overlay, indicate the new U.S. - Mexico boundary.

After several months of negotiation, formal agreement was reached in August 1963. Approximately 600 acres were ceded to Mexico in return for 193 acres of Cordova Island, a largely uninhabited Mexican area on the El Paso side of the river. The U.S. will reimburse its property owners and relocate the 3,750 residents of Chamizal. The U.S. and Mexico will split the cost of a new concrete channel "to prevent further disputes over the wandering Rio Grande" and six new bridges.

What, in your opinion, is the significance of the settlement of the Chamizal dispute?

According to Mexico's leading newspaper, El Excelsior, Chamizal represents "the greatest diplomatic triumph in Mexican history." Salvador Mendoza, a professor at the Law School of the National University of Mexico, writing in Excelsior, concludes "El Chamizal, symbol of friendship and justice affirms and consolidates the relations between Mexico and the U.S. and it is beyond the shadow of a doubt the most outstanding diplomatic gesture of the century."

For an analysis of the dispute and settlement from a Mexican point of view, see Mendoza, Salvador, "El Meto y la Mistica de El Chamizal," Excelsior, Mexico, D.F., May 29, 1963. (available in pamphlet form from Editorial Periodística e Impresora de Mexico, S.A., 1963)

For further information and the texts of relevant speeches and documents, see the

Department of State Bulletin, Vol. 49, August 5, 1963, pp. 199-204; Vol. 49, September 23, 1963, pp. 480-484; Vol. 50, January 13, 1964, pp. 49-51; Vol. 51, October 19, 1964, pp. 545-549.

C. Panama and the Panama Canal

Main Ideas

The focus of U.S. - Panama relations is the Panama Canal; increasing Panamanian resentment of U.S. sovereignty over the Canal Zone is a major source of friction between Panama and the U.S.

Anti - U.S. sentiments in Panama and possible threats to the security of the Canal make U.S. - Panama relations extremely delicate and of great interest to other Latin American nations.

Consideration is being given to the construction of a new canal, less vulnerable to attack, to handle the increasing volume of trade and larger ships.

Materials

map of Panama and the Panama Canal
reading, "Background: the U.S., Panama, and the Canal"
readings and discussion questions, "Issues and Opinions"

Suggested Activities

Assign the "Background" reading before discussion of the other readings and questions is planned.

A brief quiz might determine how well prepared students are to consider the "issues" presented in the readings and discussion questions. Students should be familiar with the terms of the 1903, 1936, and 1955 treaties, the current state of the U.S. - Panama relations, and the alternatives for modernizing canal facilities.

Suggested Activities

Using the transparency map, point out the location of the Canal, the major cities (Panama City and Colon), and their relation to other points in Latin America. The map of the We stern Hemisphere (used in the introductory section) might also be valuable here. Possible alternative canal routes might be pointed out.

Discuss the readings and questions presented together in the Appendix. The questions are intended to identify main ideas and issues indicate conflicting points of view, and enable students to reach their own conclusions after considering the evidence. Again, reference might be made to the introductory readings on inter-American relations in an attempt to place U. S. - Panama relations in a broader framework.

For addional information, see: Kent, F. B. (Los Angeles Times) "Colombia to Build New Canal," Austin Statesman, July 4, 1968.

Some culminating activities are: 1) ask students to outline a treaty which they think would satisfy the best interests of the U. S. and Panama; 2) hold mock negotiations between U. S. and Panamanian "representatives," and perhaps hold a "press conference" midway in the negotiations and have the representatives face questions from other class members; or 3) hold a mock congressional debate to consider one of the treaties proposed by the students.

D. Dominican Crisis 1965

Main Ideas

Although the U. S. repudiated intervention in the 1930's, this nation cannot avoid influencing Latin American affairs either directly or indirectly by our presence, our wealth, and/or our world position.

The Cold War, with its threat of communist expansion (through subversion or aggression), has complicated the U. S. position with respect to promises of non-intervention.

In 1961 and 1965 the United States acted unilaterally, intervening in Cuba (unsuccessfully, to overthrow Castro) and the Dominican Republic (to prevent a possible communist takeover), and as a result faced serious criticism both at home and abroad.

The Dominican crisis illustrates the difficulty of achieving social reform, economic development, and political stability in a country with a conservative, authoritarian tradition.

Materials

readings, "Background to Crisis," "State Department Summary," "Opinions on the Dominican Crisis," "Implications for Future Inter-American Relations" bibliography, "Dominican Crisis: References"

Suggested Activities

The 1965 Dominican "civil war" is the focus of this section which is organized similarly to the one for Panama with a variety of readings and discussion questions. Consideration of events in the Dominican Republic since 1961 and the U.S. role will provide opportunities to summarize experiences and alternatives in contemporary inter-American relations as well as to view and evaluate intervention as an aspect of the United States' Latin American policy. Because of the relative recency of the Dominican crisis,

its very controversial nature, and the opinion of several observers that the basic crisis has not yet been resolved, no attempt has been made to suggest definitive answers to the questions posed. The complexity of the Dominican situation should be emphasized although only a few issues might be selected for class study.

Assign "Background to Crisis" before the following activities are planned.

Ask students to identify the major problems with which the Dominican Republic has to cope (e.g., absence of democratic political experience, economic development, polarization of society). What role had the U.S. played in Dominican affairs prior to 1961?

Indicate the complexity of the 1965 crisis by presenting questions such as:

1) What was the nature of the 1965 crisis? (Was the crisis a communist threat, internal political instability, or something else?)

2) Is communism in Latin America a threat to the U.S.?

3) Was unilateral U.S. military intervention the most desirable choice of action? (Are there effective alternatives to unilateral U.S. intervention? Could the OAS or UN have taken the "necessary" steps to deal with this crisis?)

4) Did intervention accomplish its apparent purposes such as stopping a communist take-over, providing peace and stability, democratic

A list of general references for the Dominican Republic is provided in the Appendix.

Consider the difference between a direct threat to U.S. security and threats to U.S. national interest.

Reference might be made to the previous discussion of Cuba. For additional information, see Lieuwen, E., U.S. Policy in Latin America. New York: Praeger, 1965, pp. 107-110.

Consider both short and long-run effects.

government and socio-economic progress?	
5) Did the U.S. support right-wing military leaders against leftist rebels promising democracy and social reform? (Does the U.S. tend to support dictatorship, because we fear communist expansion, and thus help to maintain an unjust status quo?	
6) Did U.S. action arouse anti-Yankee sentiment which cost support for our policies in the Dominican Republic and Latin America and thus indirectly aid the communists?	
7) What are some of the problems facing the U.S. in its dealings with smaller, weaker nations and various ethnic groups?	
8) Can the OAS be made more effective in order that unilateral U.S. action will not be considered in the future?	Reference might be made to previous discussion of the OAS.
Assign reading of the "State Department Summary," and ask students to answer the introductory questions on the basis of the information given.	
Assign reading of "Opinions on the Dominican Crisis." What major differences are there among the authors quoted? Between any of the authors and the State Department? What biases might be expected of these sources? Do the answers to the introductory questions require revision on the basis of new evidence?	The difficulties facing our foreign policy makers in assimilating sometimes conflicting or imcomplete reports might be noted.

Suggested Activities

After consideration of the several aspects of the Dominican crisis, attention might focus on intervention as a feature of U.S. policy. Reference could be made to earlier U.S. policy such as the Roosevelt Corollary and/or the current idea of the U.S. as a world policeman.

For additional information see:
Schneider, R. M., Latin American Panorama. New York: Foreign Policy Assn., 1966, pp. 34-42.
Hanke, L., South America. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1967, pp. 132-138.

Assign "Implications for Future Inter-American Relations." Note common problems facing the U.S. and Latin America, problems facing the U.S. in its relations with Latin American nations, and the available alternatives for U.S. policy.

Review the introductory readings and student answers to the question of the interdependence or mutual importance of the U.S. and Latin America.

For additional information see:
Quigg, P. W., "Advice for the U.S.," in Hanke, L., Mexico and the Caribbean. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1967, pp. 147-150.

What problems or areas of conflict exist in contemporary inter-American relations? What steps have been taken to improve relations for mutual benefits? What remains to be done? Realizing that there are no simple answers to complex problems, what practical suggestions might be made for more successful inter-American relations. Consider specific goals and the means by which they might be achieved.

Supplementary Activities

"The U.S. and Latin America," in Stavrianos, L.S. et al., Readings in World History. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967, pp. 448-453.

Supplementary Activities

The letter to President Eisenhower from the Chilean students was written before the announcement of the Alliance for Progress in March 1961 and the Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961 as was the response from the U.S. Ambassador to Chile.

What aspects of U.S. policy toward Latin America are praised by the Chilean students? What aspects of U.S. policy are criticized by the students?

How does the U.S. Ambassador to Chile respond to the students' criticism?

Are the students' objections to U.S. policy toward Latin America valid today? Write a letter to the Chilean students in which you respond to their praise and criticism, taking into consideration events since 1961.

"Sumner Welles, A Memorandum on Inter-American Relations, 1933," in Hanke, L., Mexico and the Caribbean. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1967, pp. 140-141.

Consider this advice to President Roosevelt in light of events since 1933 and the present state of inter-American relations. How appropriate are Welles' suggestions today?

APPENDIX

Teacher's Notes to Accompany Organization of American States Transparency

The Inter-American Conference meets every five years (proposed revisions of the OAS charter recommend annual meetings) to determine OAS policies and functions of the various administrative agencies.

The Council is the permanent executive body of the OAS which carries out policies and administers activities. It often has considerable authority in emergency situations. Each member of the OAS appoints an Ambassador to the Council.

The Pan American Union is the general secretariat of the OAS. Among its many responsibilities is publication of OAS materials including the monthly magazine, Américas.

Meetings of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs are called to deal with emergencies, generally threats to hemispheric security.

Specialized Conferences deal with specific technical matters while the Specialized Organizations are separate governmental bodies established to carry out specific functions of common interest such as the Pan American Health Organization.

Until recently the Inter-American Economic and Social Council received major emphasis as concern focused on economic development. Since 1967, however, additional emphasis has been placed on education, scientific, and technological advances, and reorganization of the Inter-American Cultural Council has been proposed to reflect this growing concern.

As a regional organization, the OAS acts independently of the UN except in matters relating to maintaining peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes. However, there is close cooperation between the two in areas such as public health. The effectiveness of the OAS in providing for hemispheric defense both from subversion and attack has been questioned. Proposals to establish a standing military force have been rejected. (The section on the Dominican Republic will consider the OAS in terms of its role in hemispheric defense.)

Teacher's Notes to Accompany Alliance for Progress Transparency

The Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress (CIAP) is the major agency of the Alliance, responsible for coordinating and directing policy and subject to decisions of the (OAS) Inter-American Economic and Social Council which reviews progress toward Alliance development goals. The (OAS) Inter-American Cultural Council will be playing a greater role in Alliance efforts in the areas of education, science, technology, and culture.

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) is the major regional lending and technical assistance agency, while the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) is primarily concerned with promoting the economic integration of Latin America (i.e., establishment of common markets such as the Latin American Free Trade Association and the Central American Common Market).

The Alliance for Progress is not merely a U.S. foreign aid program. It is a multilateral, cooperative effort with Latin American nations supplying most of the funds for development projects. The need for change is urgent, but no quick or easy solutions to Latin America's development problems are visible. There is strong resistance to change from vested interest groups, and no amount of U.S. aid can solve Latin America's "crisis." The Alliance is trying to encourage long-range planning and recognition of the inter-relatedness of Latin America's problems.

Teacher's Notes to Accompany Stages of the Castro Revolution

1956-1959

Castro's movement was not a typical communist revolution. His supporters came largely from the non-communist urban middle-class, students, and intellectuals while the peasantry was generally apathetic and the working class uninvolved. Basic reforms were promised and expected; there was little evidence that Castro was heading toward communism. Other groups also actively opposed Batista.

Batista helped to defeat himself with a counter-terror campaign which triggered an army revolt. The U.S. aided Batista until March, 1958, then accepted but was suspicious of Castro. Castro became a national hero and gained wide popular support.

1959

January-February. Castro does not begin to fulfill his earlier promises of political reform. Although many Americans sympathized with Castro's stated aims, U.S. - Cuban relations deteriorated early under Castro's rule.

June. State collective farms are established. Castro feels that Cuban freedom requires economic independence from the U.S. and that Cuban capitalists were so closely associated with U.S. interests that capitalism must also be eliminated.

A large group, composed primarily of professional and middle-class people, begins to leave Cuba as the revolution moves under Soviet guidance. This mass emigration changes the structure of Cuban society and eliminates much of Castro's opposition. When Castro adopted communism is less important than the belief of most of his supporters that their revolution would bring political, economic, and social reforms to Cuba within a democratic framework.

1960

Those who do not believe that Castro was a communist from the beginning (at least in 1956) feel that conservative and moderate opposition to his reforms and increasing U.S. hostility toward his agrarian reforms and nationalization policies pushed him toward the left and the Soviet Union. Denied U.S. markets, Castro sought trade agreements with the Soviet Union.

1961

April. Much speculation and bitterness surrounds the CIA directed, unsuccessful, and embarrassing effort to liberate Cuba. Little support for our efforts was offered by other Latin American nations many of which admired Castro's willingness to experiment with extreme solutions and his successful defiance of the U.S. This early enthusiasm has largely faded as Castro's dependence on the Soviet Union and his sponsoring of guerrilla activities elsewhere in Latin America has become clear. However, there is little support for another U.S. intervention in Cuba. Tension between the U.S. and Cuba increases.

1962.

October. The Soviet military buildup in Cuba, including missile bases, threatened the security of Latin America and the U.S. Of the various alternatives (e.g., invasion, attacking the bases, inaction), President Kennedy chose a quarantine and demanded the removal of the missiles in return for a U.S. promise not to invade Cuba. Under firm presidential leadership, the U.S. demonstrated its determination to resist communist advances. At the same time, we indicated our willingness to negotiate specific disputes and face challenges realistically. Although several Latin American governments (e.g., Mexico) view Castro as a nationalist revolutionary rather than a militant communist, there is now greater Latin American support for the U.S. policy of isolating Cuba.

since 1963

Castro is in control of the most "state directed" communist nation. The Cuban economy appears to be stagnating although Castro promises great advances by 1970. There are greater opportunities for the lower classes, significant advances have been made in education (with an ideological emphasis), the Church survives, the position of women and non-whites has risen, corruption and gangsterism are under control. Freedom of expression (e.g., speech, press, assembly, religion) is not tolerated. Discontent or disillusionment with Castrosim may be increasing. There is evidence of dissension with the Cuban Communist Party as pro-Moscow individuals feel that Castro's present policies may be disastrous. The decisions of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (OLAS) meeting in Havana, August 1967, emphasizing armed struggle and guerrilla warfare, appear to have lost supporters for Castro. Several Latin American Communist parties have publically stated their preference for the Moscow rather than the Havana position.

Castro is committed to communism, allied with the Soviet Union (his denunciation of China in January 1966, means greater dependence on the Soviet Union), and advocating wars of liberation throughout Latin America. He appears unalterably hostile to the U.S.

American policy is to isolate Cuba by means of economic and diplomatic sanctions, especially from the rest of Latin America.

Teacher's Notes to Accompany Transparencies on Education in Latin America

An educated population is essential for the successful operation of representative governments and for socio-economic development. One of the widest gaps between Latin American and developed nations is in the area of education, and this gap may be increasing. In addition to providing greater opportunities for education, the quality of education requires improvement and new emphases. For example, in 1965 two-thirds of Latin America's 71,000 university graduates earned their degrees in law, philosophy, and other academic rather than technical fields. Most secondary schools are traditionally academic, and most high school graduates are unskilled, prepared for little other than government clerical jobs. Some observers feel that changing the "fundamentals of a highly inequitable system of education" is more important than expanding physical facilities. The "dropout effect" tends to maintain urban-rural and socio-economic differences.

At the 1967 Punta del Este meeting of the American Chiefs of State (OAS), education was given high priority, and recognizing the importance of education in the overall development of Latin America, a 1968 meeting of the (OAS) Inter-American Cultural Council proposed reorganization and assumption of major responsibilities for Alliance educational programs.

1. Literacy.

In addition to the low literacy rates, students should recognize the great variation among Latin American nations as illustrated by the extreme examples of Argentina and Haiti. There are also significant differences among regions within a single nation. Further, literacy rates for younger persons (20-25) are higher than those for older persons (60-65).

2. Elementary Education Completed

Some of the difficulties in using statistics might be noted here. For example, between 1950 and 1960, the percent of Honduras' population completing elementary school doubled, but the 1960 figure is less than two percent. Also, the small percentage of the population completing elementary education in most Latin American nations throws some doubt on the validity of the literacy figures presented in the first transparency. If the U.N.'s definition of literacy, the equivalent of a 4th or 5th grade education is used, the literacy rate for Latin America would probably be much lower.

3. Higher Education

Students should recognize the need for more highly trained personnel: teachers for secondary and primary schools; qualified leaders and administrators in government and business.

4. Government Spending for Education

It should be noted that total expenditures are difficult to determine since public funds come from several sources, especially in the U.S. This may be less true in Latin America where public education is considered a national rather than a local matter. Also, spending is per capita for the population as a whole, not per student. The interrelatedness of development problems should be stressed here. Poor nations need trained leaders but may not be able to afford the vast improvements in education necessary for development; without an educated population and skilled personnel, they are likely to remain poor. Between 1955 and 1962, public spending for education in Latin America tripled. However, although twenty percent of Mexico's central government budget goes for education, the central government only spends $6 per capita.

QUOTES FROM THE READINGS ON

PAGES 1-42 OF READINGS BOOKLET

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Much has been written about Castro and his revolution, and many authors have attempted to substantiate their preconceived notions rather than present a balanced account. Perhaps the subject is too emotional and too close for objective appraisal. A variety of viewpoints is found in the books cited here, and an attempt has been made to indicate the point of view of the authors. For further discussion of the literature on Cuba, see Hanke, L., Mexico and the Caribbean. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1967, pp. 37-40. Most of these books are appropriate for the able student.

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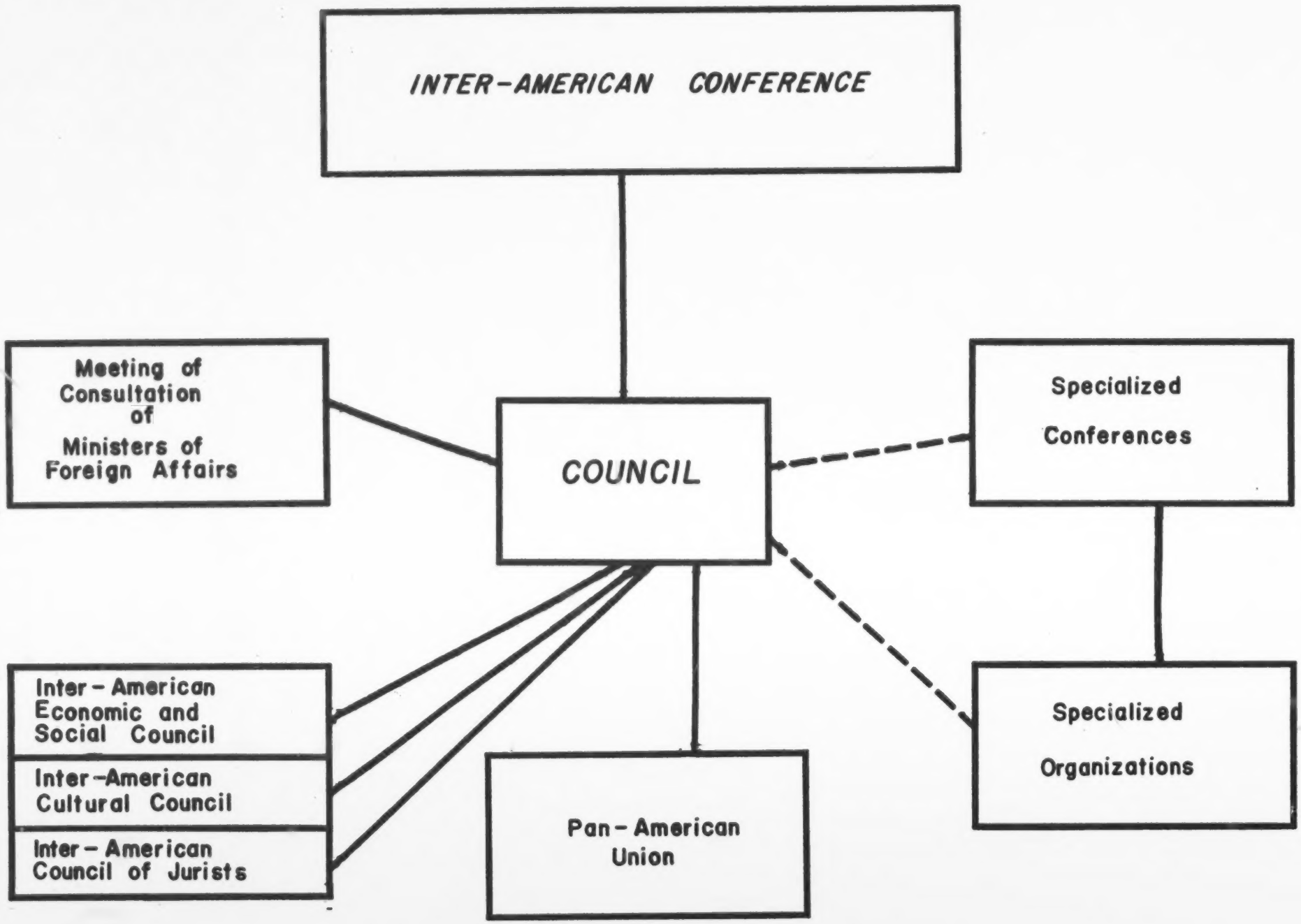
Transparency Masters

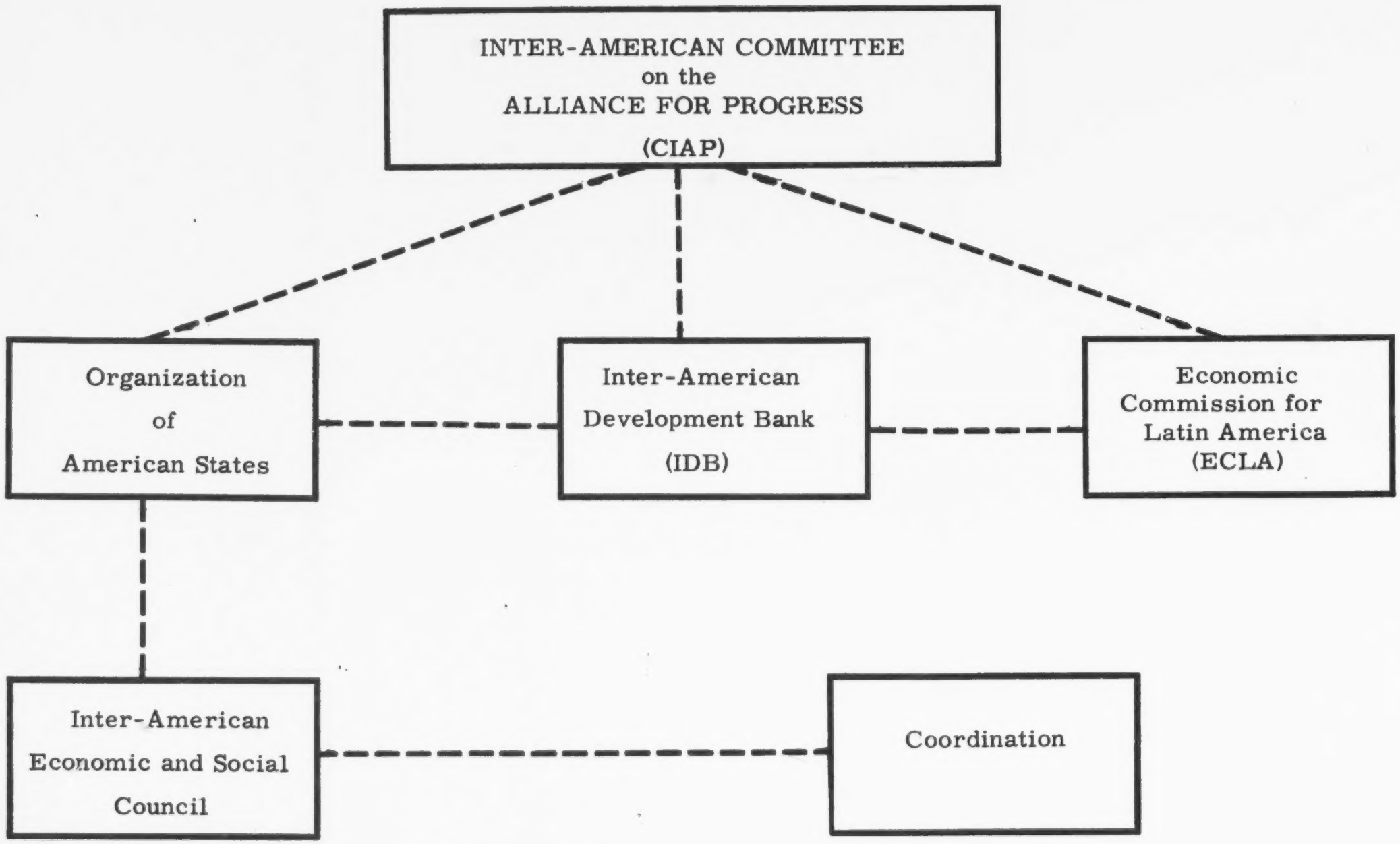
The following pages were designed to be reproduced easily by the heat transfer process. The teacher may wish to make ditto masters and provide individual copies for the students, or make transparencies for use on an overhead projector.

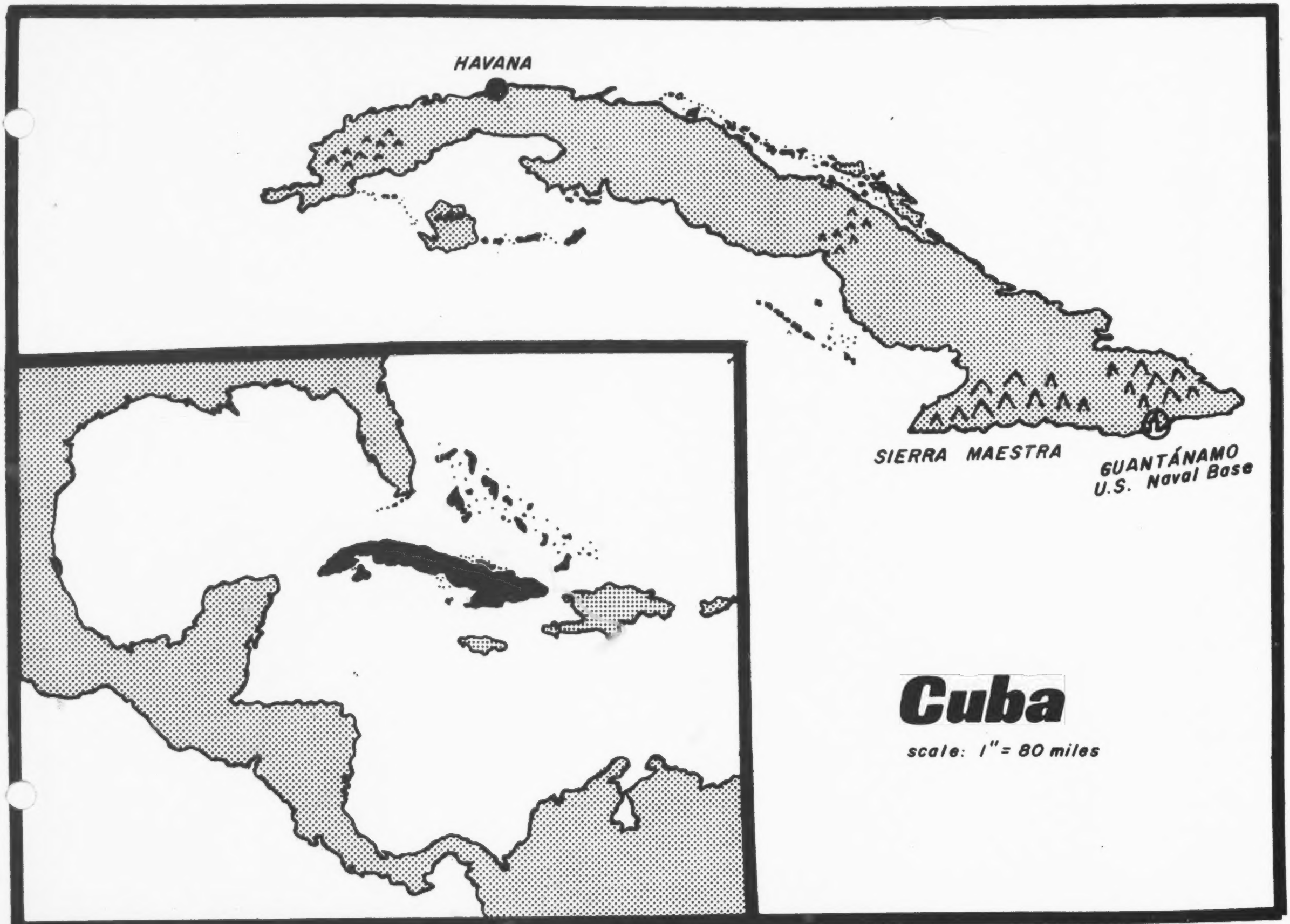
Western Hemisphere

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES



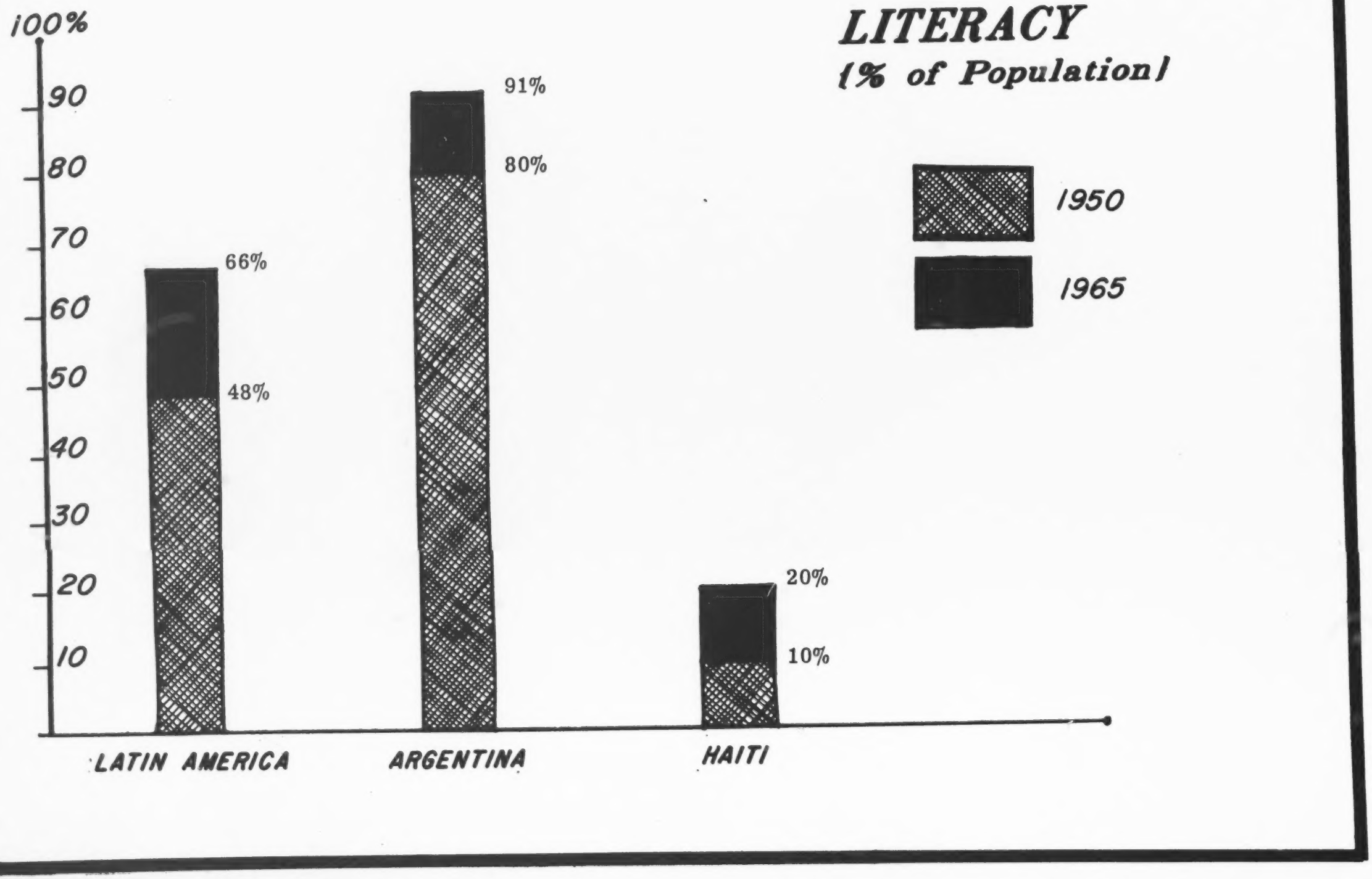
RELATIONSHIP OF ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS
AND OTHER REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS



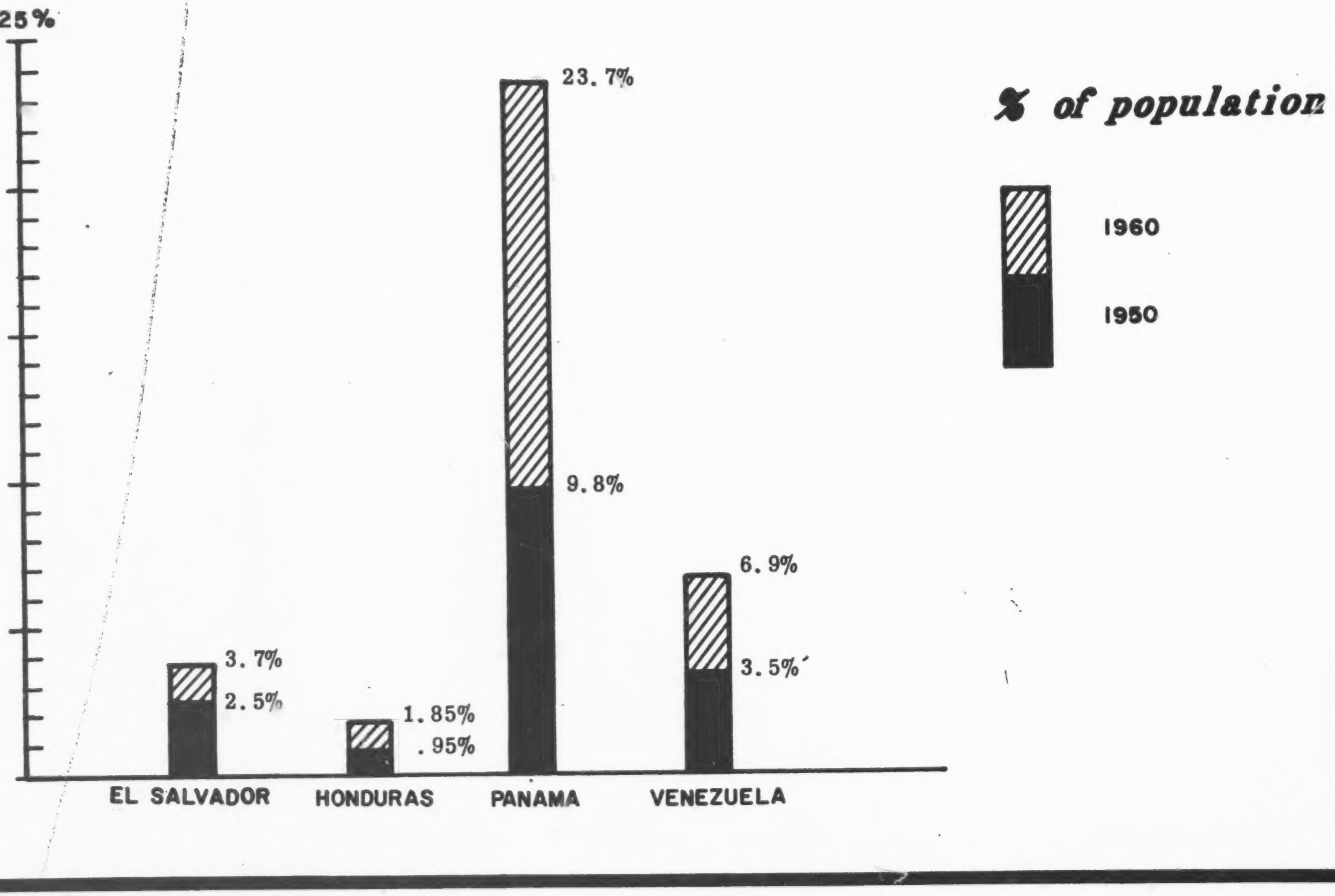


Cuba

scale: 1" = 80 miles


LITERACY
(% of Population)
1950
1965
100%
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
66%
48%
91%
80%
20%
10%
LATIN AMERICA
ARGENTINA
HAITI

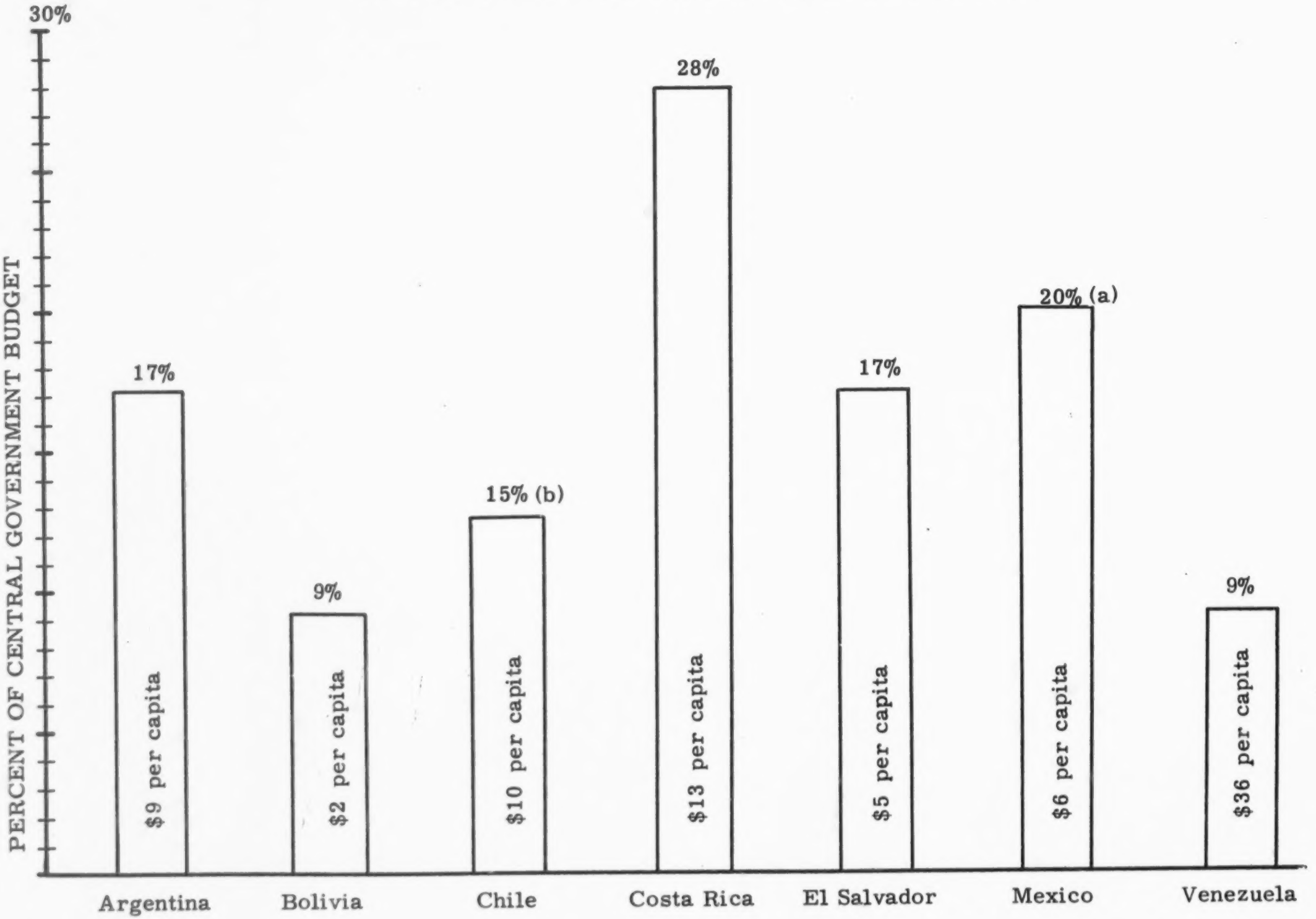
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION COMPLETED



HIGHER EDUCATION

	Number of Schools	Number of Students	% of Population	
U.S.	2,037	3,700,000	2.0%	(1961)
Argentina	342	193,000	.9%	(1962)
Chile	8	27,000	.3%	(1962)
Costa Rica	5	5,800	.4%	(1963)
El Salvador	3	3,000	.1%	(1962)
Mexico	325	94,000	.3%	(1961)
Venezuela	---	15,000	.2%	(1960)

GOVERNMENT SPENDING FOR EDUCATION



(a) Central government spending only
(b) Education Ministry spending only

Costa Rica

COLON

PANAMA

PANAMA CITY

Colombia

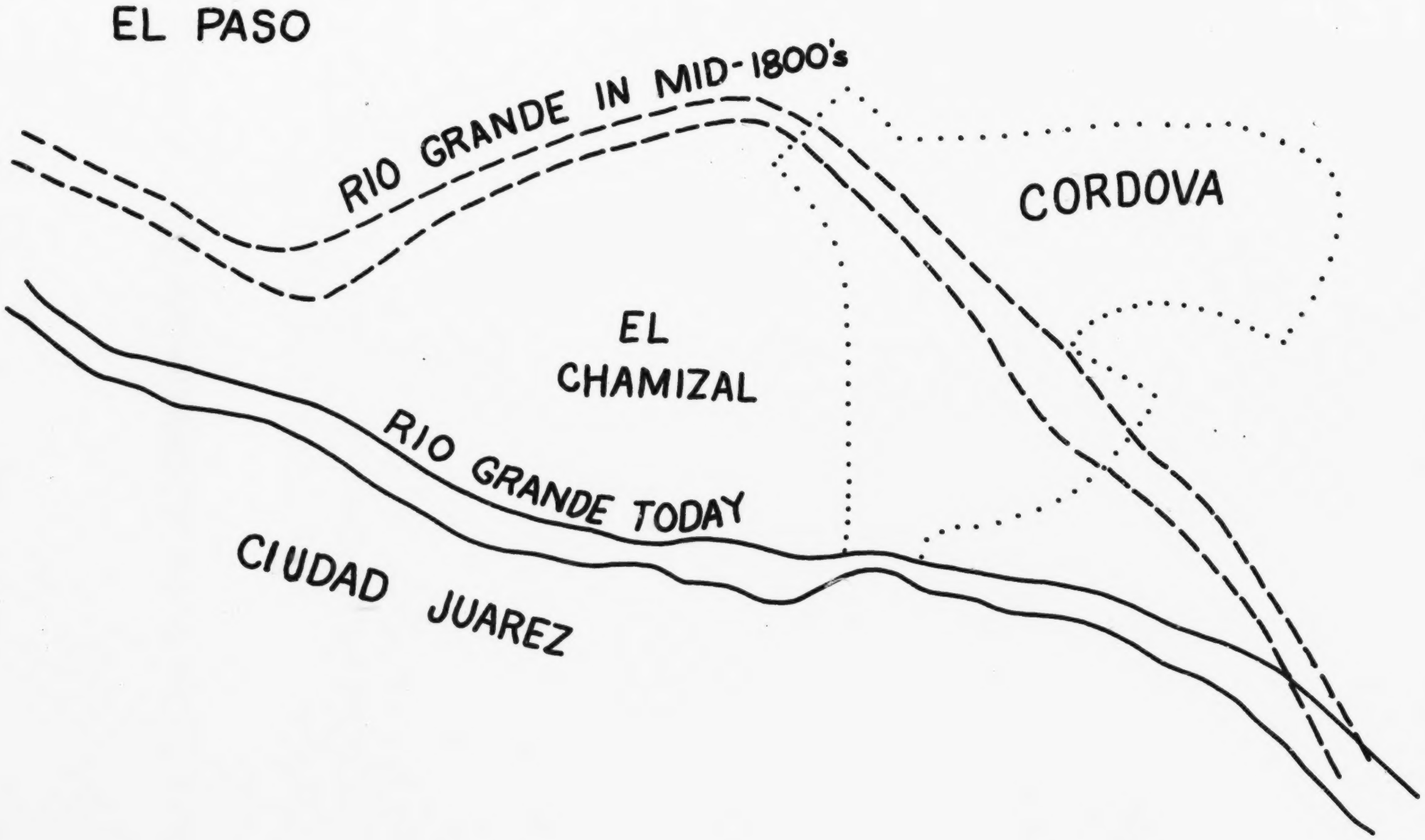
Panama

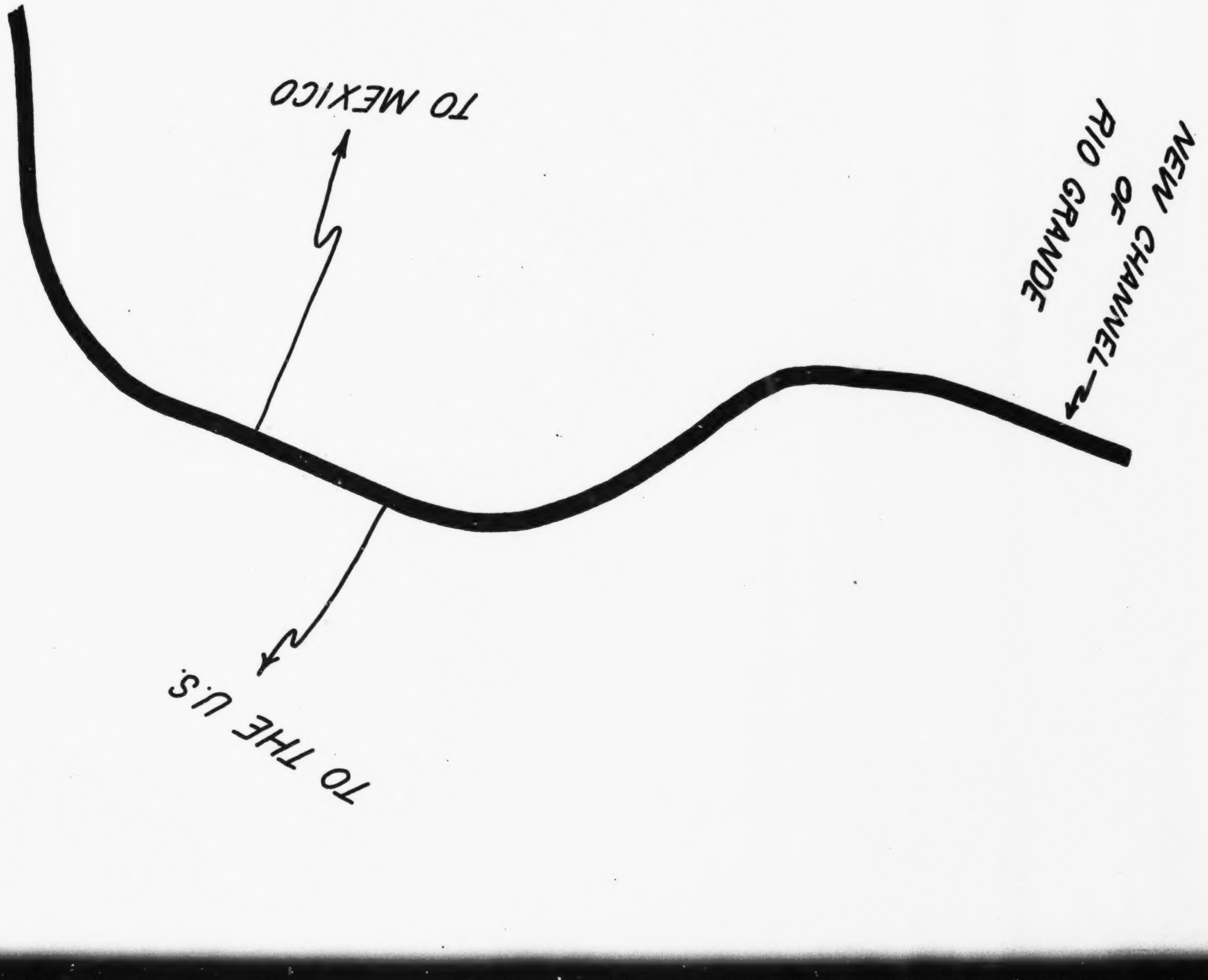
Panama

CANAL ——
$1\frac{1}{8}$" = 10 miles

Canal Zone

CANAL ZONE ----
CANAL ——
1" = 75 miles


EL PASO
RIO GRANDE IN MID-1800's
CORDOVA
EL
CHAMIZAL
RIO GRANDE TODAY
CIUDAD JUAREZ


TO MEXICO
NEW CHANNEL OF RIO GRANDE
TO THE U.S.